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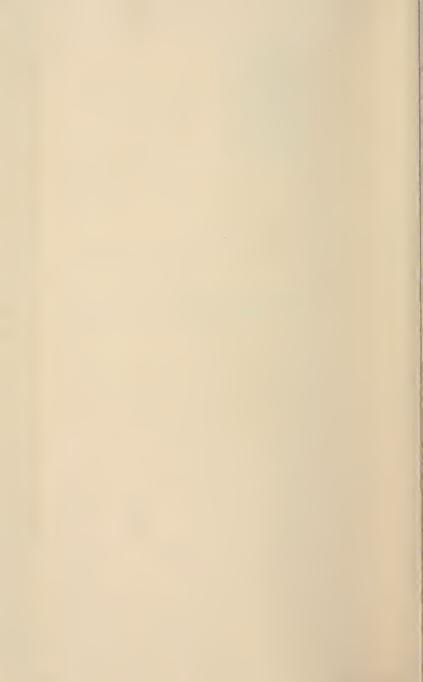


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LETTER

To His Excellency

Mr. ULRICK D'YPRES,

Chief Minister to the

King of SPARTA.

In ANSWER to his

Excellency's Two Epistles Lately

Published in the DAILY COURANT.

With a Word or Two to the Hyp-Doctor, Mr. Osborne, and Mr. Walsingham; All joint Advocates for his Spartan Majesty.

By EUSTACE BUDGELL Efq;

The Second Edition.

Sustinet. Sic obrutus undique telis,

Nubem belli dum Detonet omnem

VIRG.

There cannot a greater Judgment befall a Country than such a dreadful Spirit of Division, as rends a Governmens into two distinct People.

We should not any longer regard our Fellow-Subjects as Whigs or Tories; but should make the Man of Merit our Friend, and the Villian our Enemy.

ADDISON'S SPECTATOR. No. 125.

LONDON:

Printed for S.West, near St. Paul's; and fold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster. M.DCC.XXXI. (Price I s. AC911.1731.882 and the state of t

Just Publish'd,

(With a Frontispiece design'd by Vanderbank, and engraved by Vandergucht)

The Second Edition of,

A LETTER to the King of Sparta, from Eustace Budgell Esq; With an Account of the Manners and Government of the Greeks and

Romans, and Reflections thereon.

Interspersed with several Curious and Uncommon Pieces of History, relating to Love and Politicks; and with a great many Stories, private Memoirs, and Characters of the Ancients and Moderns, viz. of Cleomenes, Lycurgus, Acrotatus and Chelidonis, Clisthenes, Coriolanus, Agesistrata, Cratesiclea, Tyrtæus, Pyrrhus, Isadas, Pericles, Cimon, Thucydides, Marius, and Julian the Apostate: Of Sir Robert Carr, Oliver Cromwell, the late Duke of M-gh, the Earl of Ox-d, Earl of H-x, Earl of Sh-ry, Mr. L-w, the Lord Ro-k, Mr. Secretary Rad-n, Mr. Con-ve, Dutchess of M-gh, Countess of Ox-d, and others.

Printed for A. Moore, and fold by the Bookfellers of London and Westminster. Price bound

7 s. 6 d.

N.B. This is the Book which gave Occasion to the several Papers and Pamphlets mention'd in the foregoing Letter to Mr. Ulrick D'Ypres.

Just published,

Dedicated to the QUEEN,

A New and most Beautiful Edition in Quarto, of,

A POEM upon his Majesty's late Journey to Cambridge and New-Market. By Eustace Budgell Esq;

To this New Edition is added some Obaservations on the said Poem. By Caleb D' Anvers, of Gray's-Inn, Esq;

Printed for J. WILFORD, behind the Chapter-House, St. Paul's Church-Yard.

Dedicated to the late Earl of HALIFAX,

(With the Head of Theophrastus, from Sandrat, and engraved by Vertue,)

The CHARACTERS of THEOPHRASTUS.
Translated from the Greek, by EUSTACE
BUDGELL Esq; The Third Edition.

N. B. This is the Book which the Honourable Francis Walfingham Esq; assures the Publick is translated from the French; and about which this Ingenious Author, and the late Mr. Addison, are of different Opinions.

Printed for J. Tonson, over-against Catharine-Street in the Strand.



A

LETTER

To His Excellency

Mr. ULRICK D'YPRES,

Chief Minister to the

King of SPARTA.

Mr. VLRICK,



S foon as I faw the first of your two Learned Epistles in the Daily Courant, I determined to make a proper Reply

to it; but was resolved to see what your Associates and Brother-Writers had also to

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fay to me, before I took up my Pen. I do not think I shall make any mighty Compliment to myself, as an Author, when I very frankly tell you the Reason of this my Resolution.

I AM humbly of Opinion, that it would have been a little below me to have taken notice of any of you fingly; but I shall now act after the same Manner I have hitherto done, and truss up four or five of you together. I address my Epistle to yourself, most illustrious Mr. Vlrick D'Tpres, because your Excellency is at present in a more Eminent Station than either the Hyp-Doctor, Mr. Ofborne, or Mr. Walsingham; though what Preferment the Parts and Learning of these several Gentlemen may in Time entitle them to, Time only can discover.

WHEN I published my Letter to the King of Sparta, I was fully prepared for an Atack from his Majesty's Mercenaries, headed

by your Excellency: I am only surprized that your Excellency should take your Title from a Town in Flanders, when you are so lately arrived from France; and seem so well acquainted, and so much enamoured with the Policy and Government of that free and happy Nation.

In order to prove what I am faying, It is very remarkable, that ever fince your Excellency has taken the Daily Courant into your Care and Protection, we have hardly been entertained with any other News in that extraordinary Paper, but Accounts from France of Profecutions against some Books and Papers, which the French Court have interpreted into Libels; and of Acts of Power and Severity against several Persons, who, some People think, are the best and most valuable Men in all France.

You entertained us the other Day with the Detail of a Proceeding against the Bishop

B 2

of Montpelier, upon the Account of a Piece which that learned Prelate has lately published, and which the French Court thought proper to call a Libel.

I COULD not, however, help making this comfortable Reflection upon your Excellency's notable Piece of Intelligence: I was pleafed to find, for the fake of Liberty, that even in France they had one Bishop among them, who did not think it a necessary Part of his Office and Character, to run into all the Measures of a Court, or blindly to obey the Orders of the infallible old Gentleman at Rome, even though those Orders were backed, by all the Power and Authority of a Cardinal Minister.

It is extreamly remarkable, that in the very Daily Courant, where your Excellency has fallen so unmercifully upon my Book, you have contrived to have the following Piece of News incerted immediately after your Letter.

P. A-

PARIS.

"The following Arrêt of Parliament has been published here, condemning a Libel to be torn and burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman, intitled, The Answer of a Counsellor, &c."

Upon this important Article your Excellency is so kind, as to give us the very Speech of Master Peter Gilbert de Voisus, Advocate to the French King; a Post which answers to that of Attorney-General in England. Master Peter Gilbert, according to your Excellency's Account of him, began his Learned Harrangue before the Parliament of Paris in these Words:

Gentlemen,

lent and mischievous Libel, than that which is just come to our Hands."

And your Excellency informs us, that Mafter Peter concluded with this Emphatical Period:

We cannot believe such a Paper capable of making any Impression, but it is never the less wicked for that; and since it has ventured abroad, that Scandal cannot be too soon expiated by the Flames."

Excellency is aiming at by all these fine Things; but I beg Leave to say, that before my Countrymen, the English, are thoroughly qualify'd for relishing some Parts of the French Policy and Government, it is absolutely necessary they should all wear Wooden Shoes; and that if your Excellency has any Thoughts of introducing this Fashion, you ought, in order to have made the whole Nation leap into it at once, to have brought over with you a Body of at least Fifty Thoufand

fand French Shoe-Makers: These Gentlemen, properly mounted, would soon have dispersed themselves over Great Britain; for I am told that the French Shoe-Makers are, generally speaking, very diligent in their Calling, and almost as good Horsemen as our English Dragoons. It is certain there are several Parts of the French Policy, which a plain English Understanding will hardly fall in love with, till some Pains is taken, to show him the Beauties of them.

For Instance; The French Monarchs have a Power by a Lettre de Cachet, or Privy-Seal, to whip up any of their Subjects, and send them to the Bastile; where some of them have been treated so kindly, that they never went home afterwards, or made the least Complaint to any of their Friends: But what has made the People of England extreamly cautious how they lodged any such extraordinary Powers in the Crown, is from their having observed, that such Powers have been almost constantly

B 4

employed by some worthless Minister, not for the Good of the Publick, but to gratify his own Private Revenge.

I BEG Leave to tell your Excellency a fhort Story, which I have great Reason to believe is true.

WHEN the late Sir John Vanbrugh was in Paris, there was a French Lady in the same City, who, with a good deal of Wit and Beauty, had a very elegant Tafte of Pleasure. Her Fortune was but small; and this unlucky Circumstance prevailed on her to admit the Visits of a modern Politician, whose eminent Post in the Government enabled him to furnish her with Money. This Lady happened accidentally to become acquainted with Sir Fohn Vanbrugh; and foon found the vast Difference between the Conversation of a Man of Wit, and that of a disagreeable Blockhead, whom, Providence for the Sins of France, had permitted to become a Statea Statesman. In order, therefore, to make herfelf some Amends for being obliged to endure the Company of a very filly Fellow, fhe contrived in his Absence, to enjoy the Conversation of a Man of Sense as often as fhe could. The Politician, (whose Confcience informed him, that a Woman of any Taste must heartily despise him, and who was therefore excessively jealous) made a Shift at last to find out the Intreague; and with a Baseness, natural to Fools and Tyrants, immediately refolved to employ all the Power his Post gave him, to be revenged upon his happy Rival. He took up Sir Fohn Vanbrugh with a Lettre de Cachet, and hurried him to the Bastile. Neither his Mistress, nor any of his Friends, knew what was become of him: Our Countryman lay for fix Years together closely confined in the Bastile, and must in all Probability have ended his Life in that Prison, if he had not had his Wits about him, and Providence on his Side.

200

It is Time I should take Notice of your Excellency's Satirical Observations upon my Book.

Your Excellency fays, that you " laughed at the Insinuation, that a Great Minister c. had entered into a Confederacy with an " Attorney, to involve me in unjust and ex-" pensive Law-Suits." I know not what Insinuations, or Innuendoes, your Excellency may have discovered in my Book by the Help of your Political Spectacles; but, I must own, I have not altogether so good an Opinion of Ministers in general, as your Excellency feems to have. I have, in my Time, been pretty well acquainted with fome of them; and have known a little Creature in a great Post (who would fain have passed for a great Minister) guilty of a more base and pitiful Action, than what your Excellency fancies is hinted at in that InfiInfimuation of mine, with which you tell us you was so highly diverted.

While your Excellency is in this merry Mood, you are pleased to be most unmercifully witty upon my poor Lucubrations; and observe with great Acuteness, that the Bookseller's Shop is their natural Dormitory.

I will, for once, let your Excellency into a Secret: I was so much afraid myself, that they might have been taken napping in some of their natural Dormitories here in Town, that I took Care to have a convenient Number of them sent into the Country, before I suffered one of them to snore in London: There are, at present, a good reasonable Quantity of them in some of the remotest Parts of England; and, though it is very possible, that after so long a Journey they may themselves be disposed to rest; I do not

not hear that any of their Readers fall asleep over them.

To tell your Excellency the Truth, the very Design of my Book, however it may succeed, is, to keep all my Country-folks, as well the Women as the Men, thoroughly awake.

I HAVE endeavoured to shew, that it is the Duty of all Persons of both Sexes, to have an hearty Zeal and Love for their Country; and that even the fair Sex ought thus far to be Politicians; That the Grecian and Roman Ladies have, upon several Occasions, saved their Country, which, without their Assistance, had been certainly destroyed.

I HAVE endeavoured to give all my Readers fome Notions of the Government, Manners, and Policy of the Ancient Greeks and Romans; not by a Parcel of dry Precepts and Observations, but by laying before them several

veral Facts and Pieces of History, which, I hope, are equally curious and instructive.

I HAVE endeavoured, as Occasion offered, from the very Beginning to the End of my Book, thoroughly to inculcate that great Maxim in Politicks, to which every State has owed its Grandeur and Happiness; and which, when any Government neglects to observe, such a Government must become mean and despicable in the Eyes of its Neighbours, and destructive at length to that miserable People who have the Missortune to live under it.

LASTLY, I have a Discourse upon the Liberty of the Press; with which I find your Excellency is highly offended.

I HAVE endeavoured to shew how absolutely necessary this Liberty is in a Nation that would preserve its Freedom; that when

in King James's Reign there was a Design to have made us compleat Slaves, one of the first Steps taken towards it, was the laying a Restraint upon the Press; and that two or three wicked Ministers resolved, their illadvised Prince and the wretched Nation should read nothing in Print but weekly Panegyricks upon themselves and their Proceedings. I have endeavoured to shew, that the Liberty of the Pressisthe most likely Thing, to prevent any Wicked Minister, who might get above the Reach of the Law, from dayly committing the most horrid and tyrannical Actions; but that a Minister with common Sense, and common Management, and one whose Conduct will bear being defended need not be afraid of the Liberty of the Press.

I HAVE shewn how fully this Liberty is at present enjoyed in China, the largest, the richest, and the best-governed Empire in the World; and in what Manner it is made to

be the strongest, the most effectual Check, upon the Life and Actions of the Emperor himself. I have shewn in how unbounded a Manner this Liberty was made use of both at Rome and Athens, while those two Glorious Commonwealths had the least Shadow of Freedom lest among them.

Among other Instances, I have shewn what Liberties the Athenian Writers took with Pericles, by whose scandalous Administration that mighty State lost all her former Glory and Reputation, and was at length utterly ruined and destroyed.

As no Parts of History are more instructive than those which shew by what Means and Errors the best Constitutions have been over-turned, I have been pretty particular in giving my Readers an Account of Pericles, and his Exploits. I am a little furpriz'd to find that it is this Part of my Book with which your Excellency is chiefly displeased; and that (for Reasons best known to yourself) you have undertaken to defend one of the most worthless and wicked Creatures, that ever pretended to set up for a Statesman.

I HAVE shewn that his Eloquence, upon which he chiefly valued himself, was nothing more than what the French call, A Flux de Bouche, A prodigious Volubility and Flow of Words, delivered with a most consummate Assurance; but that none of his Speeches had any real Strength and Solidity, or would bear being read.

I HAVE proved this, from Thucydides and Quintilian; two Persons, who were, perhaps, as good Judges of Eloquence, as ever the World yet produced. I have likewise shewn, that this was the natural Consequence of his having

having learnt his fuperficial Way of Prating from a Woman; who was the most notorious and impudent Strumpet in all Athens.

I HAVE shewn how this Prating Fellow, having plundered the Publick Treasury of all the Wealth which had been collecting many Years, corrupted the Athenians with their own Money, and made them purchase their own Chains.

I HAVE shewn in what Manner he subverted the Constitution, and abolished the Power of the Areopagites: That he most basely forged a Plot, for no other Reason, but in order to banish one of the best and greatest Men that either Athens, or any other Country ever saw: That when he had banished the most valuable Persons in the Commonwealth who opposed his Measures, he grew jealous of the most able Men among his own Friends; and with the most horrid Barbarity and Ingratitude, caused the Orator Ephialtes, who had been of infi-

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nite Service to him, to be priviately affassinated: That he minded nothing but the Interest of himself and his Family: That he destroyed five thousand of his innocent Fellow-Citizens at once, by Virtue of a most wicked Law, contrived only to fatisfy his own mean Fealousy and private Revenge: That whenever he made a Peace, a War, or a Truce, the Motives he acted upon were equally shameful, and only regarded his own Interest: That he raised the Taxes at least one Third higher than he found them; and is the first Minister, we read of in History, that ever demanded Secret-Service-Money from an Assembly of the People: That he either put this Money into his own Pocket, or employed it to the basest Purposes: That by inventing Sham-Plots, and the most wicked Falshoods, he at last divided the Athenians into two Parties: That he did this with no other View but that he might himself play the Tyrant with the more Security: That in a City, the most famous in the World for Arts

Arts and Sciences, he never preferred one Man of Parts and Learning: That while the Wealth of Greece ran through his Hands. and he daily fquandered immense Sums upon Pictures and Buildings, he fuffered the great and wife Anaxagoras (to whom he had the highest Obligations one Man could have to another) to want the Common Necessaries of Life: That his Usage of this eminent Philosopher reduced him to take up the fatal Resolution of starving himself, and leaving the World: That upon this Occasion Pericles gave the most flagrant Proof which is perhaps to be met with in all History, of his being a most consummate Monster of Cruelty and Hypocrify: That he suffered his Country to be robbed and infulted in the most scandalous Manner by all her Enemies; and even to lose the Dominion of the Sea: That he purchased a most shameful Peace, partly with Money, and partly by yielding up the Athenian Territories: That at last, to prevent his being called to an Account C_2 for for all those immense Sums he had received and embezzled, he plunged his Country into a bloody and most unnecessary War: That this War, of which he was the fole Author, ended in the Taking of Athens, and the utter Destruction of the Commonwealth. I have Thewn that the most celebrated Athenian Writers, amidst all his Power and Greatness, drew his Pieture in its proper Colours; and told their unhappy Countrymen what must be the Consequences of his shameful Administration: That Pericles, however nettled, was forced to hear all those fevere Truths which I have quoted out of several Writers; and that though he had trampled upon every other Part of the Athenian Liberties, he never durst Attempt to make his Countrymen fuch absolute and and compleat Slaves, as to restrain, or take away the Liberty of the Press.

I HAVE proved all the Particulars above mentioned, by plain Matters of Fact; and taken every one of those Facts out of some ancient

cient Historian. In a Word, this is that Pericles whom I have demonstrated to be a Wretch full of the meanest Jealousies, hating and afraid of every Athenian of Parts and Learning; and of whom I still conceive I have justly said, that he was in his Nature envious, proud, cruel, avaritious, and impudent; and this is that Pericles, upon whom your Excellency has wrote a Penegyrick.

LET us see how you begin it.

Your Excellency most roundly asserts That This Pericles was an able Statesman. Your Excellency does indeed confess, that "he had the Missortune to be pester'a "by a few little obscene Poets, the Grubs" of Athens. "Hark you, Master Vlrick! Some of the Writings of these Grubs of Athens, as you are pleased to call them, have already lasted above two thousand Years; and I am humbly of Opinion, will still last for some Ages after the Composi-

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tions

tions of your Excellency and Mr. Osborne have been all confumed in proper Uses by Grocers and Pastry-Cooks.

As to Pericles's being an Able Statesman, I have given my Readers a small Sample of his Abilities; but they will find a much fuller Account of them in my Letter to the King of Sprata: And I shall, with your Excellency's Leave, presume to hope, that Providence will prevent my Native Country from ever falling into the Hands of such an able Statesman.

You proceed to inform us, that the Scurvy Jests made upon this able Statesman,
"though they delighted the RABBLE, (a
modest Term for the People of Athens,)
disgusted all Men of Sense and Distinction:" I wish you had told us who gave you
this Piece of private Intelligence; for I cannot find any such Thing in History. You
add that Pericles bore these Scurvy Jests
with

with an heroick Serenity. He did indeed bear them, because he could not help it; but I am much mistaken, if some of them did not a little discompose the serene Muscles in the Countenance of your heroick Statesman. You add, That these same Scurvy Jests, "under some of his Successors, drew down and anecessary and absolute Restraint from such Petulancies."

Restraint laid upon their Pens, before the Measures of Pericles had occasioned the Taking of their City, the Destruction of their Commonwealth, and the subjecting of them to the horrid Government of the Thirty Tyrants; I say, if you mean this, what you assert is false in Fact; The Athenians, till all these Calamities were brought upon them by the Administration of Pericles, constantly enjoyed the Liberty of the Press. The Blunders and Vices of Cleon and Alcibiades, whenever they affected the Publick, were exposed

with

with as much Freedom, as the weak and wicked Politicks of Pericles.

You affert, that " Mr. Budgell fays, Pe-" ricles overturned the Athenian Constitu-" tion; and to prove this cites the Scurrili-" ties of Comick Poets." No, Master Ulrick! I do indeed fay, that Pericles overturned the Athenian Constitution; and so says every Historian who has wrote of those Times: I prove what I fay, not by Quotations out of Comick Poets, but by the most notorious and undeniable Matters of Fact, extracted out of the most authentick Histories. I shew, indeed, at last, that while Pericles was playing his Pranks, which were equally ridiculous and wicked, the Comick Poets did not spare him; but that they, and other Athenian Writers, endeavoured to make their Countrymen sensible, before it was too late, what must be the Consequences of his corrupt and scandalous Administration.

Your Excellency proceeds in your Defence of this able Statesman: You say that "Thucydides does not write like, Mr. Bud-" gell, against Pericles, though he was his Foe, "and though he was banished by his Means:".That "Thucydides was above employing "those leisure Hours which his Exclusion from State Affairs had given him, in writ-"ing Lampoons, or publishing Falshoods, "even against his most inveterate Enemy."

Believe me, Master *Virick!* whatever you may think, this last notable Paragraph shews nothing, but that you are guilty of such a *Mistake*, as any Man ought to be assumed of, who makes the least Pretentions to *Letters* or *History*. I do not, however, expect your Excellency should blush: It is not natural to your Family.

ALL the Learned World will perceive, from your own Words, which I have quoted,

what an egregious Blunder you are fallen into: But I do not think it incumbent upon me to shew you the Mistake you labour under; or to correct all the Errors of a Statesman, who may at present plead a prescriptive Right to the glorious and necessary Priviledge of Blundering: I shall leave you upon this Article in the same State of Ignorance I found you; and only tell you, that neither I, nor any of your Readers, should, I believe, have gueffed what it was that made you undertake the Defence of so worthless and wicked a Creature as Pericles, if you had not been fo extreamly kind as to let us yourself into the Secret. You tell us that " I would insinuate a kind of Par-" rallel between Pericles and a certain Gen-" tleman;" and it appears that your Excellency has a particular Tenderness and Affection for this certain Gentlemen. To which I answer, That in my Book, to which I appeal, I do not give even the leaft, the most distant Intimation that I design the Character

of Pericles as a Parallel to any Statesmen of this Age: I hope that the Picture I have drawn of Pericles, which I shall still venture to affirm is a very just one, is not so like any Politician now living, that all the World must necessarily see the Resemblance: Yet if it be, I must tell your Excellency, it shall be my daily Prayers, that Providence by fome Means, or other, will deliver that miserable Nation, who are fallen into the Hands of so wretched and wicked a Statesman. The fame Cause produces the same Effect. As the most powerful and glorious Commonwealth in all Greece, was destroyed by the mean Jealousies, the Follies, the Rapaciousness, the Weakness, and the Wickedness of Pericles, I will venture to affirm, that the most flourishing Kingdom this Day in Europe, would certainly be ruined under the Conduct of fuch another a Statesman.

Bur tho' I do insist upon it, that I have no where infinuated there is the least Parallel

Parallel between Pericles and a certain Gentleman, I must own I am infinitely surprised to find that your Excellency has been fo kind as to infinuate this for me. Your Words are very remarkable: You are pleafed to fay, " you will allow that the Abilities, " the Eloquence, and the Opposer's of both' " may give some Room for such a Parallel." Will you so, Master Ulrick! I am afraid, if I had faid thus much, you would have called upon the fecular Power to have answered me: But fince you are pleased to allow all this your felf, viz. That the Abilities, the Eloquence, and the Opposers of Pericles, may give some Room for a Parallel between him and a certain Gentleman; let us fee what the Abilities and Eloquence of Pericles really were, and what fort of Men were his Opposers. As to his Abilities and Conduct, I have given a pretty full Account of them, and of the bleffed Consequences with which they were attended: I have likewise, in my Book, and in the very Words of Quintilian 1 11 11 and

and Thucydides, given an Account of his Eloquence, and of his Method of Managing a Debate in an Assembly of the People.

To oblige your Excellency, let us now fee what fort of Men were his Opposers.

EVERY Body knows that the two Men, who were the chief and conftant Opposers of the wicked and tyrannical Designs of Pericles, were Cimon and Thucydides.

THE first of these was the greatest General, and the best Citizen, that ever Athens bred.

His Actions were such as would appear incredible, if all Historians had not in Effect given us the same Account of them: His Valour and Affability render'd Athens the Mistress of all Greece; He entirely subdued the Thracians, subjected all the Chersonese

to the Commonwealth of Athens, and built and peopled the City Amphipolis.

He now turned his Arms against the Persian Empire, that constant and dreadful Enemy to Greece. After altitude of great Actions, at last, with a Felicity which no General has yet equalled, he obtained on the fame Day, one most glorious Victory at Sea, and another at Land. We are expressly told, that the First of these was greater than the celebrated Victory of Salamis; and the last, than that of Platea. The King of Persia, whom the World in that Age called the great King, frightened and amazed at these prodigious Successes, was glad to obtain a Peace upon fuch Conditions as Cimon thought fit to grant him; and by a folemn Treaty yielded up the Dominion of the Sea fo absolutely to the Athenians, that he agreed, None of his Gallies, or Men of War, should ever appear for the future between the Cyanean and the Chelidonian Islands:

Consequently by this Treaty, the haughty Persian could neither enter the Agean Sea by the Euxine, nor the Mediterranean by the Seas of Pamphylia, or Syria; and the Athenians had a vast TRADE secured to them.

In a Word, Cimon carried the Glory of Athens to its utmost Height, made her dreaded, or adored by all Nations; nor could any Thing, but a most scandalous Administration, have possibly ruined her in a few Tears, after all these glorious Successes.

When this great Man had ended his Wars, and was at Leisure to reside in Athens, his whole Interest and Estate were always at the Service of Merit in Distress, and constantly employed in the most Generous and God-like Attions. If we may believe the Accounts given of him by all Historians, (and I have transcribed the very Words of one of them, in my Letter to the King of Sparta,) there was not a single Day passed,

in which the generous Cimon, did not do fomething more great and noble, than Pericles ever did, throughout the whole Course of his shameful Life.

Such was the Man, Master Vlrick, who was the chief Opposer of the Designs of Pericles; and whom your Hero, having most infamously forged a Plot, and corrupted the Athenians with all the Money in the Treasury, got banished out of Athens, as an Enemy to his Country.

THE most considerable Person next to Cimon, who was a constant Opposer of the Measures of Pericles, was the virtuous and Learned Thucydides, the greatest Statesman in the Age he lived: The Mean Jealousy of Pericles, never permitted him to rest, 'till he had also ruined and banished this excellent Man.

GIVE me leave to tell you, Master VIrick, that the several Facts I have here mentioned, are notorions and undeniable.

Is your Excellency will still allow and maintain, that the Abilities, the Eloquence, and the Opposers of Pericles, may give some Room for a Parallel between him and a certain Gentleman, a Friend of your Excellency's, I believe the most zealous Opposers of that Gentleman, will not envy him the Honour your Excellency is pleased to confer upon him.

I have done with your Excellency's first Epistle.

I shall take notice next, of what the Hyp-Doctor is pleased to say in his Letter, which he has done me the Honour to address to me.

I find the Doctor, as well as your Excellency, is extreamly folicitous about the Character and Reputation of Pericles: I shall not, however, pretend to determine whether the Doctor's great Tenderness and Concern for this able Statesiman, proceeds from the same Motive with your Excellency's, namely, from his apprehending that there may be some Room for a Parallel between Pericles and a certain Gentleman.

BE that as it will, the Doctor very gravely affures me, that Mr. Nicolas Caussin says, "Pericles was a better Speaker than Thu-"cydides." The Doctor adds, That "Mr. "Caussin thinks Thucydides himself learnt "of Pericles."

Mr. CAUSSIN may for ought I know, be of this Opinion; for I confess I never did, nor I believe ever shall, read one Page in all his Works. The Doctor in the next Place, most earnestly conjures me to read a Book, which

he fays, was wrote by Mr. Temple Stanyan: I had formerly the Honour to know Mr. Stanyan; but the I shall readily allow him to be a very worthy Man, I believe I shall hardly take the Pains to consult his Works for the most Authentick Account of Pericles.

LASILY, the Doctor has found out, that Plutarch and Gellius, both attest that Pericles once, " would not perjure himself " even for his Friend:" And yet, says the Doctor, Mr. Budgell calls him unjust. The Doctor does feem to allow, which is more than your Excellency has done, that Pericles was subject to a few Foibles. But says the Doctor, " Is Mr. Budgell, or the best " Man upon Earth, exempt from Foibles?" If the Doctor should happen to be a Clere vman, (as some People shrewdly suspect,) and is of Opinion, that for a Statesman to rob the publick Treasury, to forge Plots, to ruin the most virtuous and valuable Men, to murder, to assassinate, to overturn the Con-D 2 flitution

stitution he was born under, and, lastly, to ruin his Country, are only Foibles; I say, if this is the Doctor's Opinion, I would most humbly recommend him to your Excellency for a Chaplain: 'Tis not impossible, but he might soon become a rising Man at the Spartan Court. The Doctor having sufficiently brightened the Character of Pericles, attempts next to blacken that of the late Lord Oxford, and is excessively displeased at my having said something in my Book, which, the Doctor seems to think, is too much to the Advantage of that great Man.

THE Doctor in particular, is highly provoked at my having observed, that the late Lord Oxford formed and established the South-Sea Company, and made Government Securities sell at Par, which were before at forty per Cent. discount.

THE Doctor has indeed, a little too much Modesty to deny this Fact; but then he afsures

fures me, that my Lord Oxford took the Defign from Blount the Scrivener in Change-Alley. I shall not pretend to determine from whence his Lordship took the Design; but with the Doctor's leave, I shall venture to repeat once more, what I have already faid in my Book, viz. That " the South-Sea " Company, tho' it has been lately made an " Instrument to perpetrate the greatest Ini-" quities, yet when it was first established, " was perhaps as great a national Benefit, " and might have been made to serve as " noble Ends, as any one Thing that has " been set on Foot by any English Minister " in this Age."

THE Doctor, for certain Reasons, takes no manner of Notice of what I have made the most beautiful Part of the late Lord Oxford's Character, namely, that he never aimed at amassing a vast Estate from the Blood and Ruin of his Fellow-Subjects. It is certain, that upon the Occasion just men-

sea Company, the late Lord Oxford might, if he had pleased, very easily have put a Million of Money into his own Pocket. I never yet heard him charged with having made the least private Advantage to himself, tho' so fair an Opportunity lay before him; and I will venture to assure the Doctor, that his Lordship did not, at least, take this Part of his Conduct from any Scrivener in Change-Alley.

However it may provoke either your Excellency or the Doitor, I shall make one farther Observation upon the Conduct of the late Earl of Oxford, viz. That during his whole Administration, there was not one Plot started, nor one State Criminal executed. He had perhaps the best private Intelligence of any English Minister since Thurloe: He was not unapprized of the Correspondence some great Men kept up in Foreign Parts, to oppose the Measures of the

the late Queen; nor was he ignorant of some Extraordinary Resolutions that were taken: He made no other Use of his Knowledge, but to prevent those Resolutions from being put in Execution: He even generously took an Occasion to say in Company, from whence he knew his Words would be carried, That if he was a Cruel Man, he had it in his Power to take off some of the best Heads in Great Britain.

I HAVE Reasons to believe, That what he said was literally true.

In a Word, the late Lord Oxford neither entered into Shameful Confederacies with Brokers and Stock-jobbers to plunder the Necessitious and Ignorant; nor was the Author of cruel Laws, or Sham-Plots, to take away the Lives or Liberties of his Fellow-Subjects.

He kept his Hands unfullied with Money, and unstained with Brood.

I HAVE done with the Doctor; for as to his personal Reflections, fince I am sensible I have been sometimes betrayed by such fort of Reflections, to say too much about myself, I shall take no manner of Notice of them.

I COME next to the learned Mr. Osborne.

I FIND Mr. Osborne is no less offended, than your Excellency, with that Part of my Book which relates to the Liberty of the Press; and is highly provoked with my Quotation against Pericles, out of the Comick Poet called Teleclides, and with my Story of Timpleon. I have acquainted my Readers, That Timpleon (who was as great and as successful an Affertor of Liberty, as ever yet appeared in the World) after he had deposed a great Number of Tyrants, and restored

restored their Freedom to many unhappy Cities and Commonwealths, hearing that one Demanetus, of Syracuse, took all Opportunities to disparage his Conduct, and railed publickly against him, instead of taking any Revenge, as he might easily have done, declared, in a Transport of Joy, That the Gods had at last granted him the greatest Favour they could have conferred upon him, since it had been the constant Subject of his Prayers, That the Syracusians might enjoy so perfect a State of Liberty, that every Man among them might speak freely, and with Impunity, whatever he thought of another. Mr. Osborne affures us, " in the . " Name of Common Sense, and with all due " Reverence to Timoleon, that this Liberty " ought not to be suffered." So that I find, the unhappy Timoleon, after all his glorious Toils in the Cause of Liberty, sought for a Thing he did not understand; and must be content, for the future, to be thought a Madman, as well as another poor Gentleman, whom Your I could name.

Your Excellency is also highly provoked at this Story of Timoleon. You advise me to look once again into Plutarch's Lives; and are so good as to inform me, what I find you are very fare of, viz. That "I may be fur-" nished with an English Translation of them " at Mr. Tonsons." It happens, however, a little unluckily for your Excellency's Fest, that I did not take the Story of Timoleon and Demanetus out of Plutarch's Lives: I took it from an Author who lived many Years before Plutrach. I have quoted this Author's own Words, in the Language he wrote; and though I have not fet down his Name at the End of them, yet if your Excellency had ever read any Thing but English Translations, you might have made a Shift to have found him out.

I RETURN to Mr. Osborne.

THIS Learned Author has the Misfortune to be a little inconsistent with himself: He very frankly owns, in one Part of his Paper, That " There ought to be no Restraint " upon the Press:" He even falls into a Fit of Devotion upon this Occasion. " God " forbid, fays Mr. Osborne, That the " PRESS should ever be in the Hands of the "Government, or be limited by Power or " Authority; for then we shall have nothing " published but what Power and Authority " think fit; then instead of established Truth, " we may in other Reigns, and under other " Administrations, have established Falshoods, " and established Wickedness too."

To the above Prayer, I beg Leave to subjoin a most hearty Amen. But yet, methinks, it is not so consistent with this Devout Ejaculation, for Mr. Osborne to declare, in another Part of his Paper, That the Authors of those Things, he is pleased to call Infamous Libels, (or in other Words, That the Authors of all fuch Things, as are wrote in Opposition to Mr. Osborne's Patron) ought to be punished.

In one Part of his Paper, he condescends to affure us, That " If we are not easy'tis " our own Faults:" That " We live in an " Age and Country where Liberty is in its " Ascendant:" That " We are the happy " Nation who enjoy it to as much Perfection c as Human Nature seems formed for: " That " Every Man's Property is as secure, " as any Thing can be made in this World:" That " Every Man has also Liberty to ex-" amine into all Opinions, and search in-" to all Subjects, Religious and Political." Yet, after this last fine Period, Mr. Osborne immediately adds " I wish I could say this " Liberty was Full and Perfect." I heartily wish I could say so too, and speak Truth. I likewise wish, That Mr. Osborne had vouchfafed to explain his own Meaning: It is very evident, from his own Words, that

that even in the happy Age, and under the bleffed Administration we now live, he does not think that the Liberty of the Press, which he owns is Fundamental to all our other Liberties, is either full or perfect.

What is the Meaning of all this inconfiftent Jargon? In order to let my Readers into the Secret, it is necessary I should inform them, that The Person who, under the Name of Osborne, would Weekly instruct the Town in Politicks, if he could but persuade them to read his Papers, is generally said to have a Place under the Government, and to be a Freethinker. It is thought that he is writing at present, in hopes to get some better Preserment; but finds it a little difficult to reconcile the Deist and the Freethinker, with the fawning Sycophant and the Dependant Place-man.

My Principles and Politicks are all of apiece; and I must still stick to that Definition of the Liberty of the Press, which I
have given in my Letter to his Spartan Majesty. I take the Liberty of the Press to
be a Liberty for every Man to communicate his Sentiments freely to the Publick,
upon Political or Religious Points.

In those Countries where Men are the greatest Slaves, they may write as much, and in what Manner they please, upon any Subjects but Religion and Politicks: A Man may publish his Thoughts with the utmost Freedom, either in Turky or Denmark, upon the Nature of Butterslies, or the Virtues of the Loadstone.

I AM for allowing Mr. Oslorne full Liberty to attack either the Bishop of London, or Doctor Waterland, in what Manner he pleases: If he is not much better versed in Church-

Church-History, than in Politicks, he is not a very formidable Enemy. I hope our established Church does not want such Arguments for her Support as Fines, Prisons, Racks, and Faggots: I hope our Clergy are at least able to shew that she has as sew Errors, as any of her Neighbours; that it is necessary we should have some Religion among us; and that if we would change for the better, it must not be for any Religion that is at present established in any Country in Europe,

I HAVE a thorough Abhorrence for Cruelty and Persecution; and yet (with Mr. Osborne's Leave) I would, methinks, have it almost as penal to examine freely and fairly the Conduct and Character of Jesus Christ, as of Sir R—t W—e.

So much for Mr. Osborne.

I PROCEED with Fear and Trembling to confider the Performance of the polite Mr. Walfingham; because this Gentleman seems to be the Orlando Furioso of your Excellency's Party:

Is the World will believe Mr. Walfingham, I am, " the most exalted Genius in "Grub-Street; the deepest Politician in " Bedlam; and a most erudite Graduate in " both those Universities." I am also the " signal Representative, and Plenipoten-" tiary of all the Powers of Grub-Street; " Bedlam's Prophet; and Ambassador " extraordinary from the Fleet-Prison." But I am afraid, my Readers would think it looked too much like Vanity, should I enumerate one half of those illustrious Titles, with which this ingenious Author, out of his abundant Goodness, has thought fit to dignify me: Mr. Walsingham is likewise very positive, that the Petition which which I presented to the King of Great Britain almost a Twelve Month since, was an bumble and modest Request, to remove a certain Great Man from his Presence and Councils for ever: And that my late Voluminous Work, fairly printed, entitled, A Letter to the King of Sparta, which is to be fold for so small a Price as Seven Shillings and Six Pence, is as yet un-

Instead of attempting to Answer all these fine Things, I shall only presume to give my Readers, a short Key for the better understanding of them.

I AM credibly informed, that one Mr. R. M. of whom I have taken some notice in my Letter to the King of Sparta, the Honourable Francis Walsingham Esq; and an Attorney's Clerk, who lately eloped from his Master, and has ever since been protested by a great Man, and paid a weekly Allow-

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ance from the T—y; I say, I am credibly informed that these three most learned and most illustrious Persons, are indeed but one and the same Man; who for the Benefit and Instruction of the good People of England, writes a Weekly Political Paper, and takes care to deliver it gratis, to such Coffee-Houses as are willing to receive it.

This polite Author is so intirely employed about paying his personal Civilities to me, that he has taken notice but of one Pafsage in all my Book. Tho' Mr. Walsingham is one of the best-bred Men alive, I have it feems unhappily incurred his high Difpleasure, for what I have said in Favour of the late L—d B—ke. It is certain, however, that I have not faid what this honourable Author is fo good as to make me fay; and it is as certain, that tho' the Friends of the late L---d B-ke seem to think I have faid too little of him, and his Enemies are of an Opinion I have faid too much.

much, yet that indifferent People do allow what I have faid is just: What I have really faid of this great Man, fuch of my Readers may fee as will give themselves the Trouble to look into my Letter to the King of Sparta: To which, with your Excellency's Permission, and Mr. Walsingham's Leave, I shall presume to add thus much: I have heard impartial People allow that the late L—d B—ke has at least as much Honour and Honesty, as a certain Man whom I could Name: I have heard his very Enemies allow, he has ten Times a better Capacity; and all the World knows, when he was in Power, (being conscious, perhaps, that his own Genius was fuperior to most Mens,) he was so far from being jealous or afraid of Men of Parts and Learning, that these were the Men whom he endeavoured to introduce into Bufiness. both at Home and Abroad, and to get preferred in the Church, and the State.

I NEVER received the least Favour either from this Gentleman, or the late Lord Oxford: It is well known, that when they were both in Power, I opposed their Meafures with those little Talents Heaven has bestowed upon me.

I was made to believe they were bringing in the Pretender, and could not be quiet while I thought the Protestant Succession was in Danger; tho' I have Reason to believe, I might have got much more by sitting still, than ever Mr. Walsingham will by writing. I shall very frankly own, and I believe I speak the Sense of Thoufands of my Fellow-Subjects, that some Things which I have feen fince the Death of the late Queen, and which I could never once have believed, have given me a much better Opinion, than I had formerly, both of her Majesty's last Ministry, and of the Peace of Utrecht.

To return to Mr. Walfingham.

I SHALL take but little Notice of his elaborate Performance, for two Reasons; First, That I may avoid talking of myself, for I must talk of nothing else, if I attempted to answer Mr. Walsingham: And, Secondly, because I must ingenuously confess (however it mortifies me) that I look upon a great Part of this Gentleman's Writing to be unanswerable.

I will give my Readers a short Specimen of his Manner, to confirm what I have said.

Mr. Walsingham has made a very large Collection out of several publick Papers, which, he says, have all of them mentioned the Book I lately published, intitled, A Letter to the King of Sparta; and Mr. Walsingham is pleased to think, that I wrote all E?

these Things myself. I hope, however, he is so generous an Adversary as to vouch for me, that I did not write his own Letter, should any of my Enemies charge me with it, as I am terribly assigned some of them will.

Is the feveral *Papers* and *Writers*, reckoned up by Mr. *Walsingham*, have really mentioned my Book in the Manner he fays, I am fure, he has told me fome Particulars I never heard of before.

WHAT I know, is, That the Crafts-man and Mr. Fog have been lately pleased to make my Book the Subject of two of their Papers; yet, I am humbly of Opinion, that the Town will do me the Justice to believe me, when I solemnly declare, (as I now do,) that I neither knew the Design of either of those Gentlemen, nor one Syllable that was in either of their Papers, till I saw them in Print with the rest of the World.

It has been ever reckoned no small Piece of Judgment in a General, to make a proper Choice of the Place he is to engage in, and to fight, if possible, upon a Spot of Ground, from whence he may annoy his Enemies with little or no Danger to himself.

A CUNNING Disputant ought to observe the same Rule; and in my Opinion, Mr. Wallingham seems to surpass, not only all his Brethren, but even to excel your Excellency in this particular Point of Conduct.

HE falls upon me in his Letter, with great Dexterity, and in the following Words:

[&]quot;In fifteen hundred Suits, or thereabout,

at Common Law, Actions of Trespass

and Trover, Debt and Defamation, in half

athousand Chancery Causes, Writs of

Error, Appeals to Parliament, Cum Mul
tis aliis; all which he was concerned in,

E 4 "never

" never was his Name once heard of, but " either as Plaintiff or Defendant."

WHAT Man alive can answer an Attorney's Clerk, who is so immoderately witty in his own Way?

MR. Walsingham having utterly demolished me as a Counsellor, in the Manner your Excellency sees, proceeds next to ruin my Reputation as a Scholar. He assures all his Readers, and I presume upon his own Knowledge, That

"MR. Budgell translated Theophrastus" from the French, and entitled himself by that accurate Work to the Fame of consummate Skill in the Greek." I take this to be the most unkind and cruel Part of all his Epistle. He has here taken from me all Possibility of defending my self upon this Head; for what Desence can the most impudent

dent Thief alive make, when he is caught and detected in the very Act of Stealing?

I MIGHT indeed alledge, That one Mr. Addison has declared, in the 294th Page of the fourth Volume of his Works, that my Translation of Theophrastus was the best Translation he ever saw of any Prose Author; that his Reasons for thinking so take up several Pages; that he has even taken the Pains to compare my Translation with the French Translation of the celebrated Monsieur Bruyere, and has said such Things in Preference of the former, as I will not trouble your Excellency with quoting.

To what Purpose should I mention them! Since this same Mr. Addison, is well known to have been just such another Grub, as those Grubs of Athens, with whom your Excellency informs us, that able Statesman Pericles had the Missortune to be pessered.

As a plain Demonstration, that this Mr. Addison was just such a Grub as those Grubs of Athens, upon whom your Excellency is so very severe; I am pretty well assured, that, once upon a Time, he drew the Pictures of a certain able Statesman and his Brother, after the Grotesque Manner; and in Imitation of the History of Don Quixot and Sancho Pancha. I am pretty certain, that some good Judges were of Opinion, he never wrote any Thing in all his Life with more Wit and Humour; that his Papers are still in Being; and that it is not imposible, but that one Day or other they may see the Light.

I AM sensible the Authority of so errant a Grub, would have no manner of Weight either with your Excellency, or with the learned and honourable Francis Walsingham Esq;

I SHALL therefore leave this ingenious Gentleman in full Possession of his Victory, and the Field of Battle; and proceed to the

Consideration of your Excellency's Second Epistle, lately published in the Daily Courant.

MR. Fog, in his Journal of the Twentieth of the last Month, has some Considerations on the Conduct and Character of the late Lord Oxford; and in the Opinion of most Men, has made it very evident, that the late Earl of Oxford was not the worst Minister Great Britain ever saw, nor the Treaty of Utrecht the most dishonourable Treaty she eyer made.

MR. Fog, while he is upon these two Heads, has inserted in his Journal a pretty long Quotation out of my Letter to the King of Sprata: Some People are humbly of Opinion, That it plainly appears from this Quotation, that our Affairs were by no Means in a despicable Condition after the Peace of Utrecht; nay more, that It is very evident, that if we had but asted with

common Prudence, and made a right Vse of a most glorious Opportunity which Providence lately offered us, we might have divided the House of Bourbon, have been the Favourite Nation with Spain, have had all imaginable Indulgence in our Trade to the Indies, have been in Possession of the most valuable Commerce in the World, and at this Time, properly speaking, have held the Ballance of Europe.

Mr. Fog concludes his Paper with some Remarks upon the present Earl of Oxford and his Lady; and with the Character given of the late Lord B - ke by the late Mr. Addison, which I have mention'd in my Letter to his Spartan Majesty.

Your Excellency was, it feems, so highly offended at this Paper of Mr. Fog's, that you could not forbear resuming your Pen; and to this fortunate Accident the Publick is obliged for your fecond Epistle.

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Instead of answering any one Paragraph in Mr. Fog's Paper, your Excellency-has thought proper to assure all your Readers, that Mr. Fog himself is a Villain, that the late L—d B—ke is a Fool, and that I am a Mad-Man. I am in some little Doubt, whether, if your Excellency was not a Person of Quality, this Method of Writing would pass either for Wit or Humour, or Argument or Learning; but in your Excellency's present Situation, it would be a Sin to doubt of your having your Admirers.

I SHALL leave Mr. Fog and the late L-d B—ke to answer for themselves, being inclined to fancy, that either of them is very capable of doing so, if he should think it worth his while.

As to my own Particular, I am 10 very far from prefuming to contradict your Excellency lency, or to dispute my being a Mad Man, that I shall give up this Point, in the strong-est Terms that your Excellency can possibly desire. I do hereby grant, and am sully persuaded, that whenever the King of Sparta, or your Excellency, thinks proper to affirm I am a Mad Man, this Proposition is sull as true as nineteen Parts in twenty of whatever either of you say, either in publick Assemblies or common Conversation.

Manner as either his Spartan Majesty, or your Excellency, can possibly expect; it only remains, that I should advise both of you how to make the best of it. Should any Man for the suture presume to call either your Generosity or good Nature into Question, you may now give an undeniable Instance of both. If you had not kindly acquainted the World with my being a Mad Man, it is not impossible but some Body or other, deceived by one of my lucid Intervals,

(in which your Excellency allows I have fome Appearance of Reason,) might have employed me in the Business of my Profession. It is likewise possible I might not so easily have got Lodgings in that Place, which is most proper for me in my present Condition. But it is now to be hoped, that all whom it concerns, will be edified by that Part of your Excellency's Story of the Mad Parson, where your Excellency says, "That by the Com"passion of his Creditors, he was removed" from the Fleet to Bedlam."

One plain Fact is, and ought to be more convincing than a thousand Arguments; and I will venture to affert, that there is not a Man in England of common Sense, who, if he will but reflect with how uncommon a Generosity and Compassion the King of Sparta and your Excellency have acted towards me in this Particular, must not be fully satisfied, how unlikely it is you should set Attorneys upon me, in order to ruin me; and, in a Words

Word, how incapable either of you is of any Action that is either base, wicked, or cruel.

Your Excellency concludes your Epiftle with a most diverting Story; and gives us an Account of a most entertaining Converfation between *yourself* and a Mad Parson within the Walls of Bedlam.

The Author of the Grubstreet Journal, in his last Paper, has most wickedly and maliciously observed, that since from your own Account of your being in Bedlam, (which you tell us was when the Duke of Marlborough's Glory was in its Meridian Lustre,) you must have been there about the Year 1709, it is a little odd, that the Mad Parson, who, it seems, at that Time was your Excellency's Companion, should appeal to Gibson's Codex, and fancy you had read Bohun upon Tithes; because the first of these

Books was not published till the Year 1713; and the last of them not till 1730.

I THINK it will be fufficient to filence this Impudent Author, if your Excellency acquaints him, that you write like a Person of Quality, and do not take yourfelf to be confined by fuch Rules, as this paultry Fellow, and the Grubs of Athens, might think themselves obliged to observe. If this is not fufficent to filence him, I would advise your Excellency boldly to infift upon the Right of your Family to blunder; and if he dares dispute this Point, he must have more Assurance than any one Man in England.

However, to avoid being troubled with the impertinent Cavils of this busie Critick for the future, I should advise your Excellency, before you give us another Story, to perswade some of your Friends who under-F

fland Latin, to tell you the English of the following Precept in Horace:

Ficta Voluptatis Causâ sint proxima veris:

Nec quodcunque volet poscat sibi Fabula

credi.

Your Excellency's Friend, the Mad Parfon, is plainly endued with a Spirit of Prophecy; and feems to have been the most knowing Man in Great Britain. Your Character of him would tempt one to believe that the Account is litterally true, which one of our Poets has given us of Bedlam:

Where wrapp'd in Contemplation, and in Straw,

The Wifer Few from the Mad World withdraw.

What may ferve to confirm us in this Opinion, is your Excellency's having acquainted us, that you made Choice of the Long Gal-

lery in this Edifice, as a fit Place for your Contemplative Walks; and it feems that this Place afforded your Excellency several wise Reflections upon the Deformity of Human Nature.

The happy Fruits of these your Excellency's Reflections and Contemplations have so evidently appeared in your Speeches and Negotiations, that I make no manner of doubt but Posterity will look upon the Long Gallery in Bedlam, with the same Veneration the Romans did upon the facred Grove, in which Numa is said to have conversed with the Goddess Egeria; and where, in his Contemplative Walks, he somed those Laws, which were so highly beneficial to the Commonwealth.

THAT I may not seem guilty of a Breach of Good Manners, I shall return your Excellency a Story for that which you have been so kind as to bestow upon me; and since I find your Excellency, like other Modern Politicians, has a strong Aversion to all Greek

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and

and Latin Authors, I will not take the Story I fend you out of any of those obsolete and heathenish Fellows.

In my Letter to the King of Sparta, I have given some Account of China, and the Chinese: I have observed that the Extent of this mighty Empire, the Number of its Inhabitants, the Beauty and Largeness of its Cities, and its prodigious Commerce, are almost incredible: That the learned Vossius was of Opinion, the capital City of China, including the Suburbs, contained more Inhabitants than all Europe; and that the Chinese infinitely excelled all the Europeans in Arts and Sciences.

I HAVE shewn that the Monsieur Voscius was perhaps a little too extravagant in his Commendations of China, yet that 'tis pretty evident that Empire has many more Inhabitants than all Europe put together: That 'tis very certain, the Chinese had Bells

Gunpowder, the Loadstone, the Use of the Compass, and the Art of Printing, among them for many Ages before any of these Things were known in Europe: But that what they are universally allowed, even at this Day, to excel all other Nations in, is, The Art of Government.

I HAVE shewn that in China, no Man is a Gentleman by his Birth, but that the Mandarines, or Gentlemen, become fuch by their own Parts and Learning: That the utmost Care and Impartiality is used to examine whether a Man is really qualified to be a Mandarine, before he is admitted into an Order which is fo truly Honourable: That out of these Mandarines, distinguished by their Habit and Language, the most confiderable Officers are chosen for all Civil and Military Employments: That the Crown itself is not hereditary; but that if the Emperor has several Sons, and finds the Youngs est of them all to have the best Capacity,

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he adopts him for his Successor: That if he has no Son of a Capacity sit to govern so vast an Empire, he makes Choice of some other Person to succeed him, from a firm Belief, that he cannot do his own Children a greater Kindness, than to prevent their appearing in that high Station, which must render their Defects visible to all the World; and that he should be guilty of a Crime, the Supreme God, the Almighty Cham Ti, would never forgive, if he permitted so many Millions of People to be made miserable by the Weakness and Incapacity of one Man.

I HAVE shewn that the Liberty of the Press is the most fundamental Part of this glorious and happy Constitution: That the Emperor himself, by his being well assured that all his Faults will be displayed and recorded in the Chronicles of China, is obliged to act in a Manner truly becoming his high Post, if he has the least Regard for his Honour or Reputation.

Tonquin is a Kingdom which borders upon one of the Provinces of China, called Tunam. The People of Tonguin learnt the Art of Printing feveral Ages fince, from their Neighbours the Chinese: They express the same Reverence for the Memory of that great Philosopher and Statesman, the divine Confucius; they likewife use the same Character with the Chinese, and endeavour to imitate several of their Customs and Manners. Learning, Arts, and Sciences, are upon a good Foot in the Kingdom of Tonquin: This Kingdom is the Scene of that Story, which I design as a Present for your Excellency, and with which I shall conclude my Letter.

ABOUT Three Hundred Years fince, a certain Prince reigned in Tonquin, who, tho' he had many Great and Royal Virtues, yet feduced by a Spirit of Indolence, which he too much indulged in his declining Years, he almost

most wholly withdrew himself from the Cares of Government, and while he was chiefly intent upon his private Pleasures, intrusted the Administration of all publick Affairs to the Care and Conduct of his first Minister, whose Name was Xunchi. This Man, tho' of an ordinary Capacity, by a certain Assiduity and Forwardness which were natural to him, had found Means to work himself into his Prince's Favour. He had, for fome Time, Cunning enough to hide the worst and most odious of his Vices; but being now entrusted with the Supreme Power in the Kingdom of Tonquin, he flung off the Mask, and shewed himself in his full Deformity and Infolence. As he was conscious of his own Defects, and want of Capacity, for the high Station in which he acted, one of the first Things he did, was to remove every Man from publick Business whose Talents or Behaviour he imagined would prove a Reflection upon his own. His next Business was to render the Supreme

Council of Tonguin, which confifted of fixty fix Members, intirely at his Devotion: To this End he filled the Council with his own Creatures; and by allowing each of them a Yearly Pension, kept them in a constant Dependance upon himfelf. He now gave the Reins to his own infatiable Avarice, and daily loaded the miserable Tonquinese with new Imposts and Taxes. Out of these he allowed the good old King Money enough to support him in a State of Ease and Luxury, and put the Remainder into his own Pocket. He grew fo immensely Rich in a few Years, that his Wealth exceeded even the King of Siams, one of the richest Princes in that Part of the World. In the mean Time the Affairs of the Kingdom of Tonquin were reduced to a miserable Condition. I have already observed, that Xunchi's mean Jealoufy would not fuffer him to employ any Man of Capacity in publick Business: The Men therefore that he sent abroad a Jest to the Neighbouring Nations.

THE Person he sent to the Emperor of China, was only looked upon in the Quality of a Buffoon, at that polite and learned Court. The Kingdom of Tonquin was over-reached in every Treaty, where her Interests were debated; and every Nation in India laid hold of the Opportunity, which the Administration of Xunchi afforded them, to rob her of some Branch of her TRADE. The Reputation of her Military Virtue declined, as fast as that of her Councils. Xunchi who regarded nothing but his own Interest, and who was no Soldier, was fo fenfible that a Man who commanded the Forces of Tonquin must be of some Weight, have frequent Access to the King, and make a Figure in the Administration, that he could not endure the Name, or the Thoughts of a Captain-General of the Army: He rather chose to see the Kingdom of Tonquin wafted

wasted, and insulted on all Sides, by the Siamese, the Tartars, and the Coreans.

In the mean Time the Cries of the People of Fonguin grew loud and general: They faw their Taxes daily increasing, while their Trade was every where decaying; they faw themselves insulted by their Enemies, and flighted by their old Allies: They were fenfible that Xunchi's Administration was the Cause of all their Miseries: They knew their King was good, generous, and merciful; but Xunchi had so surrounded him with his own Creatures and Relations, that it was impossible for them to convey their Complaints to his Ears. Their miserable Circumstances made them daily load the Cause of all their Missortunes with Millions of Curses. The Men of Parts and Learning throughout the Kingdom of Tonquin struck in with the Resentments of the People. These Gentlemen were sensible that it was their Interrest, in a more particular Manner, to hunt down

the wicked Minister. They had long observed, that those Talents and Capacities, which in any neighbouring Countries (and even in Tonquin formerly) would have recommended them to the Favour of their Prince and the Publick, did but expose them to the implacable Camelties and Fealousy of the wicked Xunchi: They had found by Experience, that there was no Crime upon Earth which this Minister was not more ready to pardon, than the least Appearance of a Genius above the Vulgar. Some of them who had given Proofs of their Capacities in his Service, found themfelves not only neglected with a most scandalous Ingratitude, but marked out for Destruction with an unrelenting Cruelty. In a Word, the Antiphathy of Xunchi to Men of Parts and Learning was fo well known, and so notorious, that during his Administration it became a Proverb throughout the whole Kingdom of Tonquin, That the only Way to get ANY THING, was to be good for Nothing. The finest Wits and Pens in Tonquin,

Tonquin, upon all these Considerations, added Fuel to the Resentments of the People: They drew the Picture of Xunchi in its proper Colours; and their own personal Injuries adding an uncommon Spirit to their Writings, made the feveral Pieces they published read and admired by all the People: The Minifter found himself pushed on all Sides : He faw that the Writings which were published against him, and contained the feverest Truths, made him every Day more odious to the People; and he began to fear that some of these Writings might, at last, fall into the Hands of his Royal Master, and prove fatal to his Greatness, by laying open his Conduct. To prevent these Consequences, he resolved to abolish the Liberty of the Press; and sounded some particular Members of the Council upon this Head: To his infinite Surprize and Mortification he found that those Men who had hitherto gone all Lengths with him, refused to take this Step: They told him plainly, They durst not do it :

it: That the People of Tonquin, who were fo great Admirers of the Constitution of China, would never endure fo notorious a Badge of Slavery: That the meanest Man in the Kingdom would have Sense enough to fee, that when a Gag was put into the Mouth of Liberty, it could be with no other Design, but to prevent her Squawling while fhe was murdered. They therefore advised him to encounter his Adversaries with their own Weapons; and represented to him, that it was impossible but a Man who was posseffed of fo many Millions, must find proper Advocates to plead his Cause. Xunchi refolved for once to follow their Advice: He picked out some chosen Men, whom he looked upon to be the brightest of his Blockheads, and settled a Pension upon each of them to write Panegyricks upon him, and to defend his Conduct. Their Performances no sooner appeared in Publick, than they were received with the Hisses, the Laughter, the Scorn, and the Contempt

of the whole Kingdom of Tonquin: They ferved to no other End, than to afford the Enemies of the Minister fresh Subjects for their Satires: Every Thing that looked like an Argument in his Defence, was immediately confuted. If any Part of his Conduct was doubtful before, it was now plainly demonstrated to be all of a Piece, and equally wicked and absurd. His Adversaries, who had unluckily got Possession, not only of the right Side of the Question, but of all the Wit and Learning that appear'd in the Difpute, exposed his Weaknesses, and shew'd him to the People in fo many ridiculous Lights, that whereas at first he was only universally hated, he now grew to be most heartily despised. The Statesman (though his Head was none of the clearest, as I have already observed) had just Sense enough to perceive the infinite Difference between the Stile and Writings of those who attacked, and those who defended him. He found himself but in an ill Way; and that it was next to impossible to hold out

long at this Rate. He one Day took the Matter into his serious Consideration in one of his Contemplative Walks: He reflected, that his Reputation, which was never very great, either for Honesty or Politicks, lost Ground apace; that his Vices and Blunders became every Day more apparent, and his Character more ridiculous; that no Defence at all, was much better than a filly one; that in the first Case, every Man was apt enough to suggest to himself the best Arguments, which in his own Opinion might be urged in favour of a Person accused; that saying nothing to what was alledged against him, would at least carry the Appearance of a noble Difdain, and look as if he could have answered his Adversaries, if he had not thought it beneath him to take notice of them; but that all the ridiculous Trash which was now daily wrote in his Defence without Argument, without Wit, and without Learning, and which even his few Friends began to be weary of reading, did but most evidently shew the Weak-

[81]

ness of his Cause, and expose him to the repeated Insults of his Enemies.

Upon all these Reflections, which were some of the wisest he ever made in his Life, he determined to impose Silence upon all those notable Champions, who were at present so busy in his Desence. He summoned them all to meet him in his Apartment. His Blockheads soon came about him; and the Statesman having taken his Place at the upper End of the Table, bespoke the Assembly in these Words:

My worthy Friends,

THOUGH I am very sensible of your good Will towards me, and shall ever retain a grateful Sense of all your Favours, yet at present, for some Reasons of State, which it is not so proper I should communicate to you, I must desire you will suspend your Labours in my Behalf. I intreat you, My most Worthy Friends, no longer to throw away your inestimable Writings upon a Peo-

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ple so stupid and ungrateful as the Tonquinese; and this is the Reason of my calling you together.

IT is scarce possible to express the Surprize of the Assembly upon this Harangue of the Statesman's; every Man appear'd thunderstruck, from a just Apprehension, that since their Labours and Assistance were no longer defired, their several Pensions would drop of Course. There was one of the Company, whose Name was Chachao, who, though he was no less a Blockhead than the rest of them, had so strong a Dash of the Coxcomb, that it gave him a certain Vivacity, which his Brethren feemed to want. While the whole Assembly continued silent, Chachao rifing up, addressed himself to the Statesman in the following Manner.

Most Illustrious and Most Honourable Politician,

THOUGH I have not long been conversant in Politicks, I think I know what your Honour is driving at, and can guess at those Reasons of State, which you say it is not so proper you should communicate to us: Though your Honour has too much Good Nature and Complaisance to speak out, yet, if I divine aright, your Honour is not thoroughly satisfy'd with our Labours and Performances. I hope your Honour will not take it amiss, if I speak to you with a more than usual Freedom upon this Head.

What is to be done by Men, I think I and my Brethren are capable of doing: For my own Part, though I confess that some of my Works, before I wrote Politicks to serve your Honour, have not been received in the Manner they deserved by the whimsical Tonquinese, yet, had Providence permitted me to have been born in China, I cannot

Well

well doubt, but I had at present stood in one of the first Classes of the Mandarines, and been possessed of one of the first Posts in a Nation that knows how to value Men of Merit. In a Word, Sir, permit me to be so free as to tell you, that I could wish, instead of being distatisfy'd with our Labours, you would be pleased to reform your own Conduct. It is in this Particular that our Adversaries have a confounded Advantage over us. To fay the Truth, Sir, your Conduct is fuch, in some certain Particulars, that if the Great Confucius himself was living, he could not defend it with all bis Rhetorick. Far be it from me, Most Illustrious Statesman, to desire you should come up to those Notions of Honour, Honesty, or Wisdom, which we find in the Books of some of our Philosophers: Vouchsafe but to render your Conduct at least a little doubtful, to give my worthy Brethren and myself but one Inch of Ground to set our Feet upon, and your Honour shall soon see bow we will maul, defeat, and abolish those paultry Scriblers, those infignificant Puppies, those Villains, those Fools, and those Madmen, who run away at present with the Applauses of the People, and have the Insolence to triumph over us.

WHEN Chachao had spoke thus, he sat down; and it was very plain by the Satisfaction which appeared in the Looks of his Brethren, that he had spoke the Sense of all of them.

THE Statesman could keep his Temper upon Occasion: He did not come there to quarrel, or to lose his Friends. Though the Oration of Chachao a little discomposed him at first, he soon recovered himself, and with a gracious Smile, spoke as follows:

My Worthy Friends,

I Can take nothing amiss from Gentlemen who, I am sure, wish me well, and whose Interests are united to my own: I shall, therefore freely confess in this Assembly, that I am afraid my Conduct, in some certain Particulars, has not been quite so wise as it should have been. I take Shame to myself: I acted according to my own poor Way of Thinking. I shall not pretend at present to enter into the Consideration, how far the worst of Causes may assume a specious Complection in able Hands; or how far the best of Causes may suffer by the Management of a weak or unskilful Advocate: But I perceive there is one Mistake which my worthy Friends have run into, and which I must not suffer them to labour under any longer: Far be it from me, My most Worthy Friends, to think of retrenching your Pensions; though I must desire you to desist for some Time from your Labours. Such of you as have like-

wife any Posts in the Government, may depend upon keeping them, while Xunchi keeps his Power. I am not a Stranger to your several Abilities; and affure you, without Flattery, that each of you has all the necessary Qualifications I defire to find in Men, who I wish may constantly share with me the Government and the publick Revenues of the Kingdom of Tonquin. All I desire of you is. that from henceforth you will employ both your Money and your Time in Drinking, in Whoreing, in Gaming, in Building Houses, in Making Gardens, or, in short, in whatever Manner your different Taftes invite you to; but for God's Take Don't DEFEND ME.

Your Excellency has concluded your Story, like a methodical Writer, with the Moral and Application of it; but you cannot expect that a poor Lunatick should proceed in so regular a Manner. The Story I have told your Excellency is the first Thing that happened to pop into the Head of a Mad-Man.

[88]

I send it to you only, as the French say, par Maniére d'acquit, and without any particular Meaning or Design.

I am, with great Respect,

Your Excellency's

Most Obliged, and Most Obedient

Ludgate-Hill, April 7. 1731.

Humble Servant.

FINIS.



